TRUMPET STYLE IN 17TH-CENTURY FRANCE AND THE MUSIC OF *LES TROMPETTES DU ROY*

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One of the most surprising discoveries of recent research into the music of Jean-Baptiste Lully has been the imprecision forced on his highly refined scoring practices by the technical limitations of his printer on the one hand and the need for widespread usefulness of the prints themselves on the other. This is painfully obvious in the case of the orchestral trumpet parts. Lully was apparently the first to include trumpets and timpani in French orchestral and choral textures, beginning around 1660. Timpani parts are normally entered separately in the scores, but the presence of the trumpet is often indicated only by placing the rubric *trompettes* above the first violin part. This practice continued to be used in French–and often in English–scores during the next hundred years.

How many trumpets were indicated, and how were they employed? French trumpet style is the least explored and least understood of the instrument's Baroque dialects. Yet it has been judged to be a dull and limited trumpet usage, stereotyped in content and context, which generally suffered from the enduring influence of Lully, the few italianate exceptions notwithstanding. Apart from this uniform and summary dismissal, there is no other consensus to be found in the standard texts. For example, we are variously told that the *trompettes* part was played by up to four players,[1] or that it was in four-part harmony, real or implied,[2] or even in six-part harmony with four or five lower parts improvised.[3] When pitches outside the harmonic series are found in the music, which happens occasionally, we are told to replace these violin notes with the nearest available natural harmonic because " a *clarino* technique…was relatively unknown to French trumpeters."[4] The problems are immense.

This is unfortunate. French trumpet use–ceremonial and functional–may be traced further back in time than all the others. Jean Froissart described the "grand foison de trompettes, de claironceaux et de gros tambour" with reference to events of the 1380s and also gave detailed information concerning cavalry trumpet signals in the *Chroniques*.[5] His example was followed by the 15th-century Franco-Burgundian chroniclers. Janequin confirmed the chroniclers' information and showed that *clerons* played in the high register and that *trompettes* sounded the widely spaced low harmonics in the chansons *La Guerre* and *La Bataille de Mets*; he also included quotations from early-16th-century French cavalry trumpet signals.

Ideally, a survey of French trumpet music would be all-embracing and would begin from these origins, but this would also be impracticable in the present short study. What follows is an attempt to answer some of the problems associated with the use of trumpets and timpani in the music of Lully and his contemporaries by defining early-17th-century French trumpet ensemble style and following its development as far as the early 18th cen-

tury. The trumpet ensemble has been selected because experience from the neighboring German-speaking lands of the Holy Roman Empire, Scandinavia, and the Baltic States, and also from Italy, shows that it was from here that trumpeters came to be employed in art music at the start of the 17th-century.

Early-17th-century French Trumpet Ensemble Music

The earliest surviving French trumpet ensemble music is found in Mersenne's *Harmonicorum libri* [xii] (1635) and also in *Harmonie universelle* (1636)[6] (Figure 1). Due to its similarities with later music, this *Chanson à trois parties* is representative of the trumpet music of the *Grande Écurie* during the reign of Louis XII. It includes three trumpet parts and, although Mersenne does not himself mention their inclusion, timpani, given the knowledge of contemporary practice elsewhere and slightly later French practice. The *premier dessus* and *second dessus* are high-sounding and equal parts that are fully notated in the G2 clef.[7] The range only is given in the C4 clef for the low-sounding *bourdon*–the pitches c, g and c'–but Mersenne tells us that its notes are selected to "harmonize with the high notes" of the two *dessus* parts.[8] The result is a light and open texture that highlights the treble melody and contrasts it with a harmonically active bass between one and two octaves lower. This is far removed from the hierarchical and highly stratified Italian style trumpet ensemble *sonata* that was still in use elsewhere on the Continent at this time, whose massive and sonorous five- to seven-part homophony underpinned by an incessant tonic drone bass results from the construction of the rest from the single notated *principal* part.



Figure 1
Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*

Mersenne mentions that the *bourdon* part may be played "with the largest trumpet or, if they are all of the same size, with the low pitches [of the range]."[9] However, he is only speculating on the use of a trumpet twice the length of the normal instrument "of seven feet or thereabouts" for this part:[10] no such instruments are known from this time and, if they did exist, they would have made available a useful additional pitch, e, which is not included in the part by Mersenne or by later composers. Rather, by "largest" he is most likely half-remembering the option of using a trumpet with a wider bore than the others to perform the *bourdon* part, an earlier practice that was almost redundant in early-17th-century France.[11] Mersenne's compatriot Jean Nicot had already observed in 1606 that "the *clarion* formerly served as a *dessus* to many *trompettes* sounding the *taille* or *basscontre*, and had a narrower bore than the *trompettes*; this happens among the Moors and Portuguese who still have them."[12] The same is hinted at for England by Randall Cotgrave in 1611, and there is still evidence that the practice was followed in 16th-century Germany.[13]

Indeed, not only were trumpets of different bores used for particular registers during the 16th century and earlier, but the ensemble of *cléron* and *trompettes* may itself have enjoyed pan-European employment before the Italian-style ensemble was adopted in Italy and at the German-speaking courts in the course of that century. Cesare Bendinelli alludes to such an ensemble practice with a "method of sounding from high to low as was done in the past": an exercise based on a series of diminutions of a one-measure theme which uses the *bourdon* pitches c, g and c' only[14] (Example 1).

Despite some errors in the print, the original piece may be postulated with some certainty (Example 2). The *second dessus* includes pitches outside the harmonic series, which may be mistakes. However, Mersenne also suggested using together trumpets at different pitches, speculated on the addition of fingerholes or slide mechanisms to the instrument, discussed privileged tones, and enthusiastically reported on Fantini's performance of non-harmonic passing notes and auxiliary notes. Therefore, the non-harmonics may be genuine and may indicate that French trumpeters, like their Italian and German neighbors, were beginning to follow in Fantini's footsteps and were exploring the practice of lipping.

Trumpet Ensemble Music at the Court of the "Sun King"

An unprecedented and rich trumpet ensemble repertory–the largest single collection of the Baroque–survives from the court of Louis XIV, thanks to his music librarian and member of the *Grande Écurie*, André Danican Philidor l'ainé. Philidor published fifty-two *Pièces de Trompettes et Timballes* in 1685 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés 920), and assembled a manuscript of 236 *Pièces de Trompette*, of which 232 are different, around the year 1700 (Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés 921). Trumpets in C are employed in both sources. Parts for timpani are included in Rés 920 but are absent from Rés 921.[15]

Rés 920 includes twenty-nine pieces for Mersenne's trumpet trio of *premier dessus, second dessus* and *basse*–as the *bourdon* is now termed–together with timpani or *timballes.* (One of them is incompletely preserved and will be discussed later.) A further eight pieces include alternative notes in the *second dessus* part to enable performance without the *basse*.



Example 1
Bendinelli, *Tutta l'arte,* fol. 7v (note values halved).
Reconstruction by Peter Downey.
"Qui segue un modo di sonare da alto a Basso come si usava per il passato, buono p[er] imparare nemar il Barbozzo et esercitar la lingua in tutte le sonade et buano [sic] per esercitarsi in le Cose da Guera."



Example 2
Mersenne, Chanson a trois Parties

Four pieces are set for *premier dessus, second dessus*, and timpani. An ensemble of three equal high-sounding trumpet parts–*premier dessus, second dessus* and *troisiesme dessus*–and timpani is found in six pieces in which voice-leading is canonic. There are two strict trumpet canons, one for five *dessus* and the other for six, with timpani. A single piece is set for one *dessus, basse*, and timpani, and the print also includes two duets for *premier dessus* and *second dessus* (see Table 1).

Rés 921 bears the title *Pièces de Trompette de Mrs de la Lande, Rebelle, et Philidor mise en estat et copie par le Sr Philidor Laisne ordinaire de la Musique du Roy Et enrichy des Pièces de Mr Huguenet L'aisne compositeur des triots de trompette plus antien ord[inai]re de la musique du roy*. André Danican Philidor is the major contributor, but many other composers are indicated by the titles of individual pieces–the violinist Pierre Huguenet l'aisne (9); the singer André Guil[laume] Legaut (4); the composer Michel Richard de Lalande (3, one of them including a timpani solo, now lost); the oboist Jacques Philidor (1); the trumpeter Denis Barbaret (1); and Cochinard le jeune, possibly the trumpeter Didier Jérome Cochinat (1). No pieces in the manuscript are specifically attributed to "Rebelle," probably the violinist and director of the Paris opera Jean-Féry Rebel, and his contribution cannot be established. In addition, arrangements of single pieces by Jean-Henri d'Anglebert, Nicholas (?) Dubut, and around thirty arrangements of extracts from stage works of Jean-Baptiste Lully are also included.

All of Rés 920 is found in Rés 921 (no. 2-5, 7-11, 13-39, 41-6, 49-57, and 92). This indicates that separate timpani parts must have existed for much of the rest of the manuscript's contents, possibly in a now-lost companion volume (see Table 2). Additional confirmation is offered by a different concordance: the *Marche Royalle* included in Rés 921 (no. 140) is preserved complete with its timpani part in two other Philidor manuscripts, Rés 671 and Versailles Ms 1163.[16] However, Rés 920 is not the source of Rés 921: the first twelve of the pieces common to the two collections Rés 920 and Rés 921 are entered in a

different order, the *tremblement* (+) found throughout Rés 920 is noticeably absent from Rés 921, and the trumpet parts routinely include minor textual differences. There are also two significant divergences:

1) The *Menuet [des] Poitevins* includes alternative *second dessus* parts so that it may be played with either three trumpets–*premier dessus, second dessus* and *basse*–or two–*premier dessus* and *second dessus* –(and timpani) in Rés 921 (no. 18). Its concordance in Rés 920 (no. 15) is set for *premier dessus, second dessus* and timpani, but its *second dessus* begins with a mixture of the two *second dessus* parts found in the manuscript.

2) The *Menuet de l'Orangerie* was initially conceived for *premier dessus, second dessus, basse* (and timpani) in Rés 921 (no. 9) before a *second dessus* part was added and, uniquely, the *basse* part had to be given alternative notes to accommodate the new part. The version printed in Rés 920 (no. 5) is set for *premier dessus, second dessus, basse* and timpani, but blank pages are found where the *second dessus* and *basse* should appear. Although errors and modifications were made elsewhere in Rés 920 during its century of use in the possession of the Philidor family, no attempt was ever made to fill the lacuna: it may well be that no definitive version of the piece was ever arrived at.

Another three shared pieces have interesting origins. In Rés 921, *Le Reposoir de la Feste Dieu, 1er Marche de Philidor*, and *2e Marche* (nos. 1, 6, and 12 respectively) are the trumpet parts of orchestral *rondeaux* and include music in the recurring "A" sections and rests in the intermediate episodes. The *1er Marche de Philidor* has parts for single *dessus* and *basse* (and timpani), the others include parts for *premier dessus, second dessus*, and *basse* (and timpani). Philidor also arranged the three pieces *pour les trompettes seules* by setting them uniformly for *premier dessus*, *second dessus*, and *basse* (and timpani) and by replacing the original rests with duet episodes for *premier dessus* and *second dessus*. The arrangements are found in Rés 921 in the reverse order *2e Marche, 1re Marche* and *Marche du Reposoir de la Feste Dieu* (nos. 13, 15, and 16 respectively). The three arrangements, complete with their timpani parts, are found in the same reverse order in Rés 920 (nos. 8, 11, and 13 respectively), which explains the appearance of the second march before the first in the print. In addition, the two episodes in the [*2e*] *Marche pour les Trompettes seules* in Rés 920 (no. 8) include the rubrics *hautbois* and *violons* respectively, further attesting to its orchestral origin.

Most of the unique pieces in Rés 921 may be accommodated in the same categories as Rés 920. Fifty-three, of which fifty-two are different, are for *premier dessus, second dessus, basse* (and timpani). The duplicated *Menuet de Baudy* (nos. 150 & 184) includes such divergences that it must have been copied from two different sources. Sixteen pieces may be performed with, or without, the *basse* for alternative notes are found in the *second dessus* part. There are 102 duets for *premier dessus* and *second dessus*, only a few of which exhibit such characteristics that they might be considered instead as ensemble pieces for two *dessus* and timpani, as will be shown later. Seven pieces are set for *premier dessus, second dessus, troisiesme dessus* (and timpani). There is one piece for single *dessus, basse* (and timpani). The trumpet parts to yet another orchestral piece are found. Finally, there is the famous *Pièce à double trompette et de different ton et le gros basson* (no. 48) for *premier dessus, second*

dessus, and the bassoon, in which passages for trumpets in C alternate with passages for trumpets crooked into G and which represents one aspect of pioneering French ingenuity that only found its true application more than fifty years later in the music of the Portuguese *Charamela Real* and the serenades of Mozart and Starzer (see Table 3).

The contents of Rés 920 and Rés 921 are given typically French titles that refer to places, occasions, people (particularly trumpeters), and classical deities, among other things. They are set in a variety of forms, with binary dances prominent: menuets (by far the most popular), rondeaux, marches, chaconnes, gigues, passepieds, bourees, gavottes, sarabandes, canaries, and single examples of the courante, loure, allemande, gaillarde, and branle. The ensemble pieces range in length from miniatures, such as *La Dame Ragonde* (Rés 920, no. 44 = Rés 921, no. 50), to more expansive works, including the *Chaconne Dauphine* (Rés 920, no. 52 = Rés 921, no. 92) (Examples 3 and 4). The texture of the more substantial pieces is varied by alternating sections for full ensemble with duet episodes for *premier dessus* and *second dessus.* Contrast in meter and tempo is also met on a few occasions.



Example 4
Philidor, *Chaconne Dauphine* (Rés. 920, no. 52)



Example 4 (Cont.)



Example 4 (Cont.)

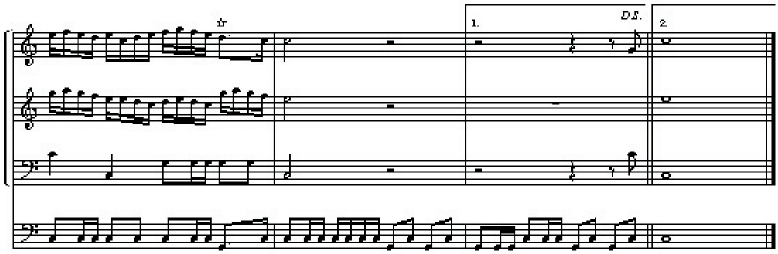


Example 4 (Cont.)

The forms are those of the most up-to-date mainstream instrumental music. The melodies are finely crafted and are completely idiomatic for the trumpet. They range in character from the military brilliance of the *Bruit de Guerre* (Rés 920, no. 4 = Rés 921, no. 7) to the tender and finely poised unfolding of the previously mentioned *Chaconne Dauphine* (Examples 5 and 4). A particular feature is the lively trumpet air with its own uniquely French flavor and identity, which undoubtedly influenced the development of its English counterpart, the trumpet tune of the 1690s (Example 5). In its texture, timbre, variety, and style, late-17th-century French trumpet ensemble music continues to contrast markedly with that employed elsewhere on the Continent, where, with a few exceptions, the fully notated but still highly stratified *Aufzug* was now the major ensemble form.



Example 5
Philidor, *Bruit de Guerre* (Rés. 920, no. 4)



Example 5 (Cont.)

The *dessus* parts of Rés 920 and Rés 921 are now written in the G1 clef and commonly include the natural-harmonic pitches g, c', e', g', and c''-b%''. Lipping regularly supplies f'' and f#'' from harmonic 11 and also the short-duration lower auxiliary b' to harmonic 8, c''. Although it had been avoided as "neither a consonance nor a difference of consonances" in Mersenne's time,[17] b♭'' is now favored as a melodic high point and is usually approached and quitted by step. The *second dessus* may move in parallel thirds with the *premier dessus*, but it is just as likely to use contrary motion and to have the highest-sounding line.

The *basse* usually has the same range as before, but it is fully notated on the F4 stave and sounds one octave lower than written. This practice, which was adopted throughout Europe and employed over the next two centuries, probably evolved at the same time as the higher-sounding trumpet parts changed from the G2 to G1 stave. The *basse* may also have changed from the C4 clef to the G1 clef, its notes being written one octave higher than sounded, before the F clef was substituted to emphasize both its name change from *bourdon* to *basse* and its musical function. (The actual positions of the notes written on the stave remain unchanged in either case.)

The timpani parts are closely related to the *basse* parts, but they are also more active rhythmically. Short interludes for solo timpani are occasionally included. Normally two timpani, one each in G and c, are employed, but a third drum in F is added in two innovatory pieces in the published Rés 920 and allows the timpanist to supply a true harmonic bass (Example 3). The same spirit of musical exploration is found in the well-known pieces for timpani in G and c and the other in e and g, composed for the Carousel of 1685 by André Danican Philidor.[18]



Example 3
Philidor, La Dame Ragonde (Rés. 921, no 44)

An important feature of Rés 921 is the presence of two groups of *dessus* duets. Most of the second, more widely distributed group of thirty-seven duets are dance movements. Many of the almost continuous first group of sixty-five duets abandon any pretense of being dances and are abstract in nature. These also bear fanciful titles, such as *Le Richochet* (no. 70) with its rebounding phrases, *Carillon* (no. 68) with its bell peals, and *l'Estourdie* (no. 74) with its giddy interaction between the parts. It is unlikely that more than a few of these duets are actually ensemble pieces shorn of their original timpani parts. They contrast with the more ceremonial nature of the ensemble pieces, are more informal in character and, with their tendency to include solo passages for each player, they may well be recreational pieces. One of them *La Galanterie* (no. 40), is in F major. A number of the others exhibit such highly advanced features that it is surprising they have not been featured in the literature.

Some of the duets routinely include c''', approached by step or by leap of as much as one octave. The part-writing is also technically advanced and gives the lie to the commonly held modern view that trumpet parts of the French Baroque lack even the most basic *clarino* writing. Spectacular corroboration of this previously unrecognized virtuosity is found in the notes outside the harmonic series in ten duets and, most unexpectedly in three ensemble pieces. None of these occurrences can be attributed to simple transcription or scribal errors, for Philidor's care is evident throughout the manuscript and the few mistakes that are met have been neatly and clearly corrected.

The notes f' and a' are met as short-duration auxiliaries to g' in the ensemble piece *l'Astrée* (no, 93) and in the duets *La Charmante* (no. 69) and *La Courtriste* (no. 83). The non-harmonic b', approached from and quitted to c'', is met in positions of melodic importance in the trumpet ensemble *Menuet de Poitou* (no. 160) and in the duets *La Cleopatre* (no. 79), *l'Inconnue* (no, 86), *l'Aurore* (no. 87), and *Bouree de Boeme* (no. 219); the alternative pitch g' is given only in the *Menuet de Poitou* and *Bouree de Boeme*, for the b' is sustained for one crotchet beat in each of these pieces. The duets *l'Anglois* (no. 67) and *Air de Menon* (no. 188) include sustained c#'' notes at perfect cadences in d minor. The uncertain pitch of the previously avoided seventh harmonic is also exploited in two duets: the *premier dessus* reaches the crotchet g' from d'' via descending quavers on c'', b', and a' in *Le Sanguin* (no. 80), and the same descent is followed by a leap to f'' in *Le Malhereux* (no. 128) (Example 6).



Example 6
Philidor, *Le Malhereux* (Rés. 921, no. 128, mm. 1-5)

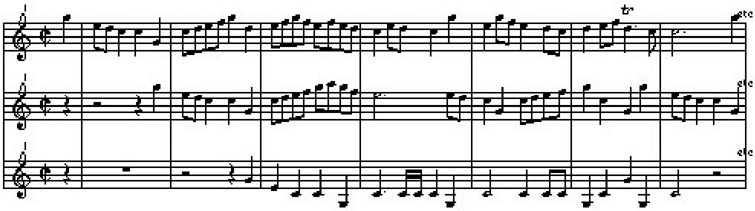
The duet *La Courtriste* (no. 83) is an eloquent example of this unprecedented repertory of technically demanding abstract music, for it includes extremes of range and many non-harmonic passages in both parts (Example 7).

Experimentation and innovation is by no means restricted to *dessus* parts. The range of the *basse* is expanded from the normal ambitus, c, g, and c', in nine of a central group of fifteen ensemble pieces by Lalande and Huguenet. The sixth harmonic, g', is added in a *Grande Pièce* by Lalande (no. 130), in a *Menuet, Passepied, Gigue*, and second *Menuet* by Huguenet (nos. 132-4 and 136, respectively) and in an anonymous and untitled piece (no. 142). The intermediate fifth harmonic, e', is also included in a fugue and *L'Aimable*, also by Huguenet (nos. 138 and 139, respectively). The lowest note, c, is even abandoned and the range rises further still to include c'' in the *Fugue de Mr de la Lande* (no. 129). While the last results in a range equivalent to that of the *principal* trumpet part used elsewhere, the more open texture, the different style, and the inclusion of the *basse* in canonic voice-entries all attest to its Frenchness (Example 8). Finally, the non-harmonic d', lipped upwards from



Example 7
Philidor, *La Courtriste* (Rés. 921, no. 83)

c', is met in a cadential progression to the dominant in an arrangement of the air *l'Autre Jour d'Anette* from Lully's *George Dandin* (1668) (no. 205): not even the *basse* is immune to lipping (Example 9).



Example 6
Lalande, *La Fugue* (Rés. 921, no. 129, mm. 1-7)



Example 9
Lully-Philidor, *L'autre Jour d'Anette* (Rés. 92, no. 205)

Philidor's arrangements of pieces by Lully have been extracted from operas, ballets, and *comédies-ballets* composed between 1660 and 1685. Most of the pieces selected include trumpets, and often timpani, in their original forms. One of the exceptions is *Les Oiseaux vivent* (no. 143), a C-major arrangement of a G-major vocal duet from *La Grotte de Versailles* (1668). Whether the originals call for trumpets in C or in D, the arrangements are uniformly set for trumpets in C. They are arranged as duets for *premier dessus* and *second dessus*, or as ensembles for *premier dessus*, *second dessus, basse* (and timpani), with the *basse* occasionally expendable. When the originals are instrumental movements the arrangements are usually complete, but when choral movements have been arranged the vocal sections may be omitted and the instrumental ritornelli merged.

The *premier dessus* parts of the arrangements are faithful to the originals. The *basse* parts (and thus the timpani parts) of the arrangements are normally closely related to the timpani parts found in the original scores. However, modifications are often forced on the *basse* parts by *second dessus* parts that tend to add new musical lines that, in crossing the *premier dessus* part, often obscure the melody and even alter the harmonies. The principal value of the arrangements lies in their attestation to the enduring popularity of Lully's works and their adaptation of vocal and orchestral textures to an uncompromising and restricted medium.

The orchestral trumpet parts of Jean-Baptiste Lully

It has been shown that 17th-century French trumpeters were the possessors of an advanced playing technique and that their music was anything but stereotyped. The same qualities may be found in Lully's trumpet parts despite the adverse judgements made on them by francophobes. Unfortunately, formidable difficulties are encountered when accessing the composer's scores due to the absence of a truly complete modern edition of the music and to the lack of a critical stemmatic assessment of the 17th- and 18th-century scores. However, even a study of a small, but representative, selection of the scores does indicate a flexible approach to the orchestral employment of trumpets and timpani on the part of the composer and the major role played by the French trumpet ensemble in the development of that orchestral role.

A hint of that diversity is shown by the following examples. The earliest orchestral trumpet contribution is found in Lully's ballet music for the Paris performance of Cavalli's *Xerxes* in 1660. *Premier dessus* and *basse* parts in D, and timpani, are included in two orchestral airs in Act 3, *Entrée* 4.[19] The score mentions *trompettes marines* due to the nautical flavor of the scene, but this should be interpreted in the context of the known French employment of trumpeters on sea-going vessels rather than as indicating the use of the *tromba marina.* Indeed, the supposed timpani part included in the score is actually the *basse* trumpet part, and Philidor–who was certainly aware of the difference between the two instruments–arranged the same pieces as *Airs de trompette* in Rés 921 (nos. 207-8).[20]

Wide-ranging and virtuoso *premier dessus* parts and *second dessus* parts in C–but no timpani–are included in the next piece, a single-movement *Concert de trompettes* from the music he supplied for the Paris performance of Cavalli's *Hercule amoureux* in 1662. The

concertante trumpets contrast with the string band and their contribution includes some beautifully expressive suspensions as well as a sustained (and probably ornamented) non-harmonic b' in the *premier dessus* that is approached by leap (Example 10).



Example 10
Lully, *Hercule Amoureux (1662),* "Concert de Trompettes"



Example 10 (Cont.)

Trompettes in D are added to the first violin part to reinforce the melody of the final bourée from *Pourceaugnac* (1669), even though the rest of the music is for strings alone.[21]

Premier dessus, second dessus and *basse* trumpets in D, and timpani are again contrasted with strings in the sixth *intermède* of *Les Amants magnifiques* (1670), where their original function was to accompany suitably the entry on stage of Louis XIV, who danced the role

of Apollon; their contribution is noted in the score by a reduction in scoring, by rubrics included above the staves, and also by clef changes in the second violin/second trumpet stave.[22]

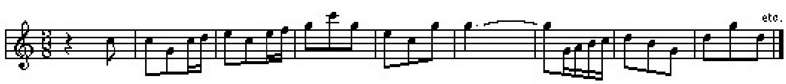
In most of the other works examined, one of the two trumpet-timpani groups that have just been described is employed in the orchestra. Among the few exceptions are *Isis* (1677), which includes *premier dessus* and *second dessus* parts only in the printed partbooks, and *Proserpine* (1680) and the *Concert de Trompettes, hautbois et Timballes Pour le Carousel de Monseigneur* (1686), both of which include a fourth trumpet part to bridge the gap between the high-sounding *dessus* parts and the *basse;* the latter ensemble is absent from other scores, however.

The *basse* part remains restricted to the usual three pitches and is closely related to the timpani part in the customary manner. The *dessus* parts are equal and wide-ranging in works written before about 1675. Some non-harmonics are also found in, for example, *Cadmus et Hermoine* (1673) and *Alceste* (1674). These are confined to the area between harmonics 6 and 8, and take advantage of the equivocal nature of the intermediate harmonic 7; it is clear from the trumpet writing of Rés 921 that none of the passages in question would have caused any difficulty to contemporary French trumpeters[23] (Example 11). A more hierarchical texture and greater stylistic uniformity prevail after 1675. Even so, the *dessus* parts continue to climb to c''' at will and often employ double-tonguing at that high altitude. Moreover, the stereotyped usage favored in modern texts is found to be merely an aberration caused by a concentration of attention on the influential trumpet *rondeaux.*

[Example 11]



Example 11a
Lully, *Cadmus,* act 3, scene 4



Example 11b
Lully, *Alceste,* Prologue, "Bruit de Trompettes"



Example 11c
Lully, *Alceste*, Prologue, "Rondeau"

Lully emerges from the more wide-ranging survey as an innovator; he is the first composer to notate timpani parts completely; his trumpet writing exhibits a great variety of approaches and is always totally idiomatic; he includes a wide and flexible range of trumpet groupings in his orchestral palette and uses it appropriately according to the particular musical circumstances; he is also the first composer to employ trumpets variously pitched in C and in D. Elsewhere, trumpets were available only in C at this time. The last emancipation may have been facilitated by a French manufacture of high-pitched trumpets supplied with crooks–as was the case subsequently in French-influenced England–but it is of musical significance for it enabled the composer to control to a far greater extent the tonality of celebratory and warlike episodes in large-scale works while including trumpets and timpani in the orchestra.

In the music for *Les Amants magnifiques* mentioned earlier, the stage directions indicate that "six trompettes et un timbalier" are present on the stage. This does not necessarily imply that the three trumpet parts were doubled and also performed from memory on the stage, for it is known that nobles of the French court acted out the original roles of the trumpeters and timpanist. Nor is such doubling precluded. Moreover, in this and in many other of Lully's scores, substantial passages are met during which the *second dessus* trumpet part either apparently disappears completely or else follows second violin parts and becomes immersed in violinistic passages impossibly filled with an extensive range of pitches outside the harmonic series. Solutions to the two seemingly intractable problems are presented in a book known as the "Prin Manuscript" (Lyon Ms. 133654), whose origin is owed to the sustained bureaucratic endeavor that attempted to record every aspect of the *ancien regime* that is also reflected in Philidor's music-bibliophilic activity.[24]

The Prin Manuscript: Lyon Ms 133654

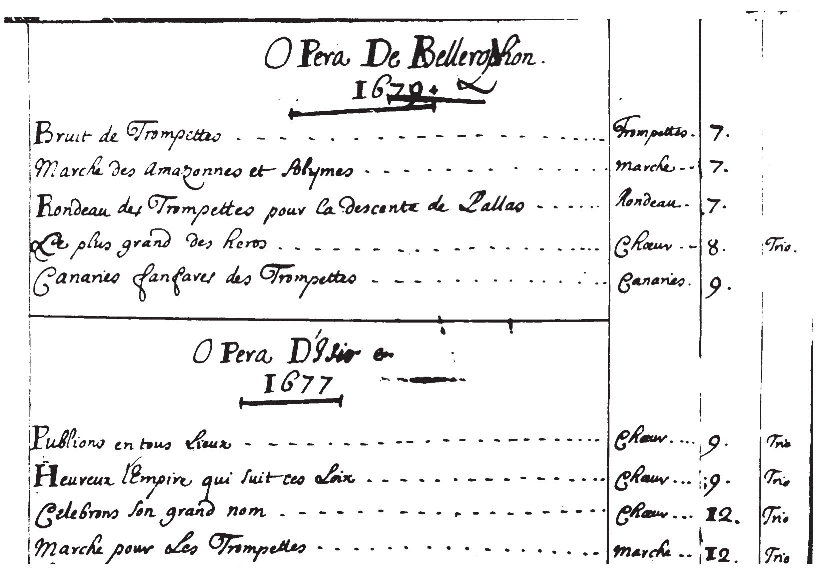
Lyon Ms 133654 is a volume of music that was given to the *tromba marina* player and dancing-master Jean-Baptiste Prin by the Duchess of Burgundy on 15 July 1702. It is a sumptuous manuscript with ornate, gilded borders on both covers, and it includes copperplate engravings of Louis XIV, the Dauphine, James II of England, and scenes from Greek mythology. Prin augmented its contents by adding music that is not of concern here, but the book was originally a partbook containing "the works of Mr. de Lully for the Royal Trumpeters"[25] (Figure 2). With a single exception to be mentioned later, it includes the *dessus* trumpet parts only of a number of large-scale works by Lully. It is a performing partbook that may be read by two players at the most. The *dessus* parts are complete for all but two of the works included, and they include cues and other detailed information that locates exactly each movement within the totality of the works themselves (Figure 3).



Figure 2
The Prin Manuscript (Lyon Ms 133654), title page



Figure 3
Prin Manuscript



O Pera De Bellerophon.
1679.

Bruit de Trompettes	Trompettes.	7.	
Marche des amazonnes et Solymes	marche	7.	
Rondeau des Trompettes pour la descente de Pallas	Rondeau.	7.	
Le plus grand des heros	Choeur	8.	Trio.
Canaries fanfares des Trompettes	Canaries.	9.	

O Pera D'Isis
1677

Publions en tous lieux	Choeur	9.	Trio
Heureux l'Empire qui suit ces Loix	Choeur	9.	Trio
Celebrons son grand nom	Choeur	12.	Trio
Marche pour les Trompettes	marche	12.	Trio

Figure 4
Prin Manuscript, Index

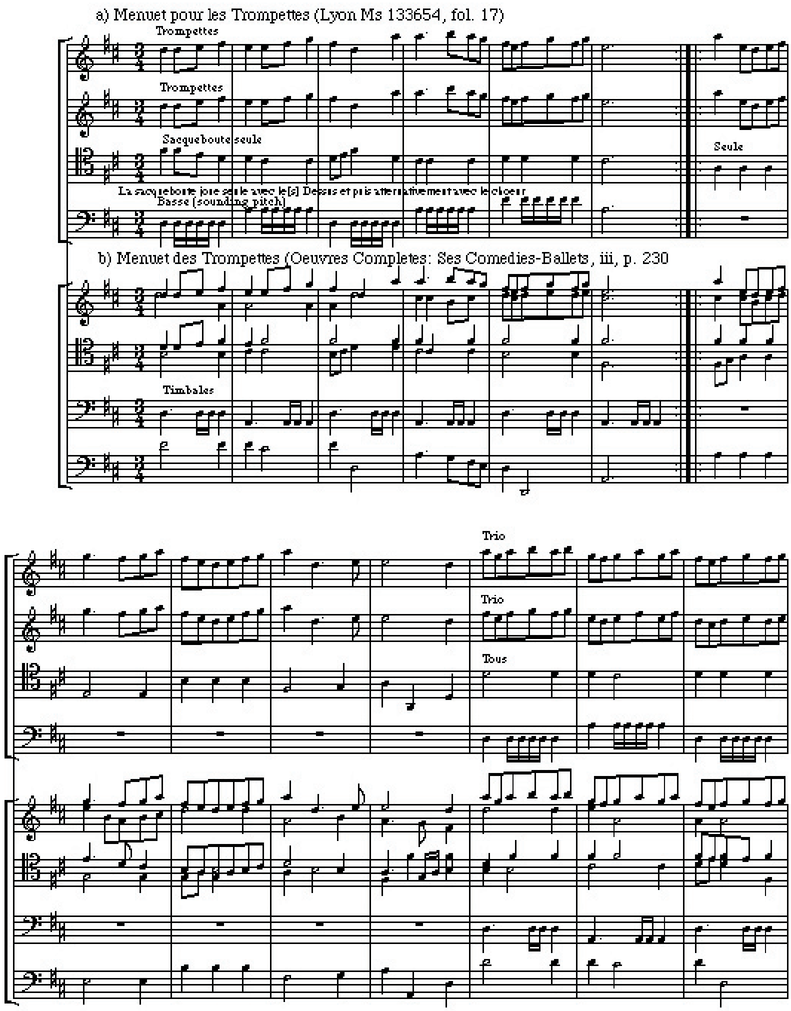
A single *dessus* part is found for *Thesée* and *Psyche. Premier dessus* and *second dessus* parts are included for *Pourceaugnac,* the *Carousel de Monseigneur* and, as far as they are complete, the *Ballet de Flore* and the *Te Deum.*[26] In *Amadis, Proserpine, Bellerophon, Isis,* and *Les Amants magnifiques,* some movements have a single *dessus* part and others have separate *premier dessus* and *second dessus* parts.[27]

If there is only a single *dessus*, or if the *premier dessus* and *second dessus* parts contain the same music, then either of the rubrics *trompettes* or *tous* is usually found. When the *premier dessus* and *second dessus* have different music, then one of the rubrics *trompettes trio, trio de trompettes,* or simply *trio* is met; the original index to the volume also includes *trio* in most of these cases (Figure 4).

The apparent numerical incongruity is best explained with reference to the trumpet parts to two works as they are found in Lyon Ms 133654. In *Pourceaugnac,* the copyist has carefully written the *premier dessus* on the left opening and the *second dessus* on the right opening in order to permit the two trumpeters to see their respective parts, yet both parts bear the rubric *trompettes*, and their music is identical. Uniquely, in *Les Amants magnifiques* the *basses* part has also been included. In this work, the three trumpet parts contain different music when the rubric *trio* is met, but the *premier dessus* and *second dessus* share the same music when *tous* is found (Example 12).

The same use of the rubrics is found in the other pieces, although their *basse* parts have not been preserved. The orchestral trumpet parts found in Rés 921 and mentioned earlier show that the *basse* part was generally understood to form a standard part of the late-17th-century French orchestral texture when this included trumpets–only one of the four pieces is without the part–and this is also confirmed in orchestral scores of Charpentier, Lalande, and others. The rubrics *trompettes* and *tous*, far from indicating massed trumpets in unisons, have two functions: if as, in *Thesée* and *Psyche,* a single *dessus* part only is included throughout the work, then two trumpets are normally required in the orchestral texture, *dessus* and *basse;* if, as in *Les Amants magnifiques*, there are three trumpet parts for *premier dessus, second dessus,* and *basse,* then the two *dessus* parts will be in unison at these places. When three trumpets are used in the orchestra, the term *trio* will indicate when the *dessus* parts have different musical text. In those few pieces in which a single *dessus* part is found for a number of movements of an extended work while other movements have separate parts for *premier dessus* and *second dessus, the* single *dessus* part, when it occurs, will also be doubled.

This practice of using the *premier dessus* and *second dessus* sometimes in unison and other times independently is both a logical and an extremely flexible expedient. It permitted Lully to write for the orchestral trumpet trio in three-part harmony when this was facilitated by the harmonic scheme and the musical texture, and it also allowed him to reduce the actual number of trumpet parts sounded in less conducive musical situations where the harmonic scheme or the musical texture, or both, militated against any meaningful and different second trumpet part. This simple scoring device, which seems to have originated with Lully, was taken advantage of by later composers in similar musical situations, most notably by Alessandro Scarlatti in his operas.[28] It also avoids the necessity of having to extract nominal *second dessus* trumpet parts from totally unsuitable second violin parts, a problem that has unprofitably exercised many musicologists in recent years.



Example 12
Lully, *Les Amants ma*



Example 12 (Cont.)

The *basse* parts will normally have to be reconstructed from any timpani parts that may survive in the orchestral scores; or, failing that, by using the *basse* parts of trumpet ensemble arrangements by Philidor of the music concerned in Rés 920, when these have been made, as a guide; or if all else fails, by using the trumpet ensemble *basse* parts of Rés 920 and Rés 921 as general indicators of style.

When the contents of Lyons Ms 133654 are compared with the complete scores of Lully's works prepared prior to 1702, both manuscript and printed, it is found that most of its contents have been taken straight from the originals. A few changes are also found. Most of them simply concern minor additions to the parts themselves, but some indicate textural modifications. For example, the printed partbooks of *Isis* include *premier dessus* and *second dessus* trumpets only, but the indication *trio* in Lyon Ms 133654 and minor changes made to the *second dessus* at cadences show that *basse* and timpani parts have been added subsequently.[29] The same is also found in the *Ballet de Flore*. In *Proserpine*, the fourth trumpet part–which is met for a single piece in the original printed score–has been omitted, implying that it was normally dispensed with. On the other hand, the gap between the *dessus* and *basse* parts has been filed in *Les Amants magnifiques* by the addition of an intermediate trombone part.[30]

Lully's contemporaries and immediate successors followed the master's lead in scoring for trumpets. For example, Charpentier's *Te Deum, Marche de Triomphe,* and *Second Air de Trompettes* all include a single *dessus* part and a part for *timbales et basse de trompette*, while a *Marche de trompettes* from *Polieucte* includes *premier dessus, second dessus, basse,* and timpani; the *basse* parts are simply obtained by playing the timpani part one octave higher rather than being separately notated. The timpani parts should also be used in the same manner to supply the *basse* trumpet parts in *Medée* (1693) and the *Epithalamio* (1685).

Conclusions

It has been shown that French trumpeters of the 17th century commanded a true *clarino* technique and were capable for performing technically demanding and wide-ranging music, including high tessitura and the use of tones outside the harmonic series. French trumpet ensemble music has been shown to differ drastically from that used elsewhere and to have included a variety to instrumental groupings. Orchestral employment began in the 1660s, again with various groupings of trumpets and timpani and with a wide range of adventurous musical settings. Change in style during the late 1670s resulted in a more hierarchical employment of trumpets and in the removal of most of the notes outside the harmonic series from orchestral scores. The standard orchestral trumpet groupings came to consist of either single *dessus, basse,* and timpani; or *premier dessus, second dessus, basse,* and timpani, and doubling of *dessus* melodies toward the end of the century, French trumpeters continued to employ the same technical capacities as before in revivals of earlier works and in their less ceremonial music-making until well in to the 18th century. Finally, Lully emerges, not as the almost malevolent conservator of a backward-looking monochrome stylistic mannerism, but rather as a key innovator in the development of a vibrant and forward-looking polychrome French Baroque orchestral trumpet style.

APPENDIX

KEY TO TABLES:

1 = *premier dessus*
2 = *second dessus*
2* = alternative *second dessus* part to enable performance without *basse.*
3 = *troisiesme dessus*
T = *timballes*
B = *basse*
orch. = orchestra

TABLE I
Réserve 920 Contents by Category

A.	1,2,B,T	1, 4, 5[q], 6, 7, 8[r], 10, 11[s], 13[r], 17, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 29, 30, 33, 34, 37, 38, 41, 42, 44[t], 45[t], 46, 48, 52	29
B.	1,2,B,T or 1,2*,T	18, 27, 28, 35, 36, 39, 40, 49	8
C.	1,2,T	3, 15, 16, 47	4
D.	1,2,3,T	19, 20, 32, 43, 50, 51	6
E.	1x5, T or 1x6, T	9, 12	2
F.	1,B,T	14	1
G.	1,2	2, 31	2

q Blank pages where 2 and B should be found. The title states "à 4 parties," as does the printed table at the end of the volume.
r Cues for *hautbois* and *violons* are met in the B and C sections of the rondeau, respectively.
s Timpani in F, G, and C employed.
t Arrangements of orchestral originals: see Rés 921, 13 [=12], 15 [=6], and 16 [=1].

–The *basse* sounds one octave higher than notated.
–Type D pieces include canonic and equal *dessus* parts.
–Type B pieces tend to include alternative notes in the *second dessus,* avoiding second inversions at cadences to the dominant and making final cadences on the tonic stronger:

27, 35: "Quand l'on sonne la basse il faut prendre les Notes d'en haut."
28: "L'on prend les Notes d'en bas quand il n'y a point de Basse."

39: "A trois Parties de Trompettes il faut prendre les Notes d'en haut.
A deux Parties de Trompettes il faut prendre les Notes d'en bas."
40: "Sans la Basse les Notes d'en bas, & quand la Basse sonne les Notes d'en haut."– Most pieces with the low trumpet part use the plural, *basses.*

TABLE 2

Réserve 921 Contents also Found in Réserve 920, by Category

CATEGORY			TOTAL
A.	1,2,B,[T]	**921:** 2, 7, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 20, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, **920:** 1, 4, 7, 6, 8, 10, 11, 13, 17, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, **921:** 29, 32, 33, 36, 37, 41, 42, 45, 46, 50, 51, 52, 54, 92 **920:** 26, 29, 30, 33, 34, 37, 38, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 48, 52	28
B.	1,2,B,[T] or 1,2*,[T	921: 18[u] , 21, 30[v], 31, 38, 39, 43, 44, 55]920: 15[u], 18, 27, 28, 35, 36, 39, 40, 49	9
C.	1,2,[T]	921: 5, 19, 53 920: 3, 16, 47	4
D.	1,2,3,[T]	921: 22, 23, 35, 49, 56, 57 920: 19, 20, 32, 43, 50, 51	6
E.	1x5, [T] or 1x6, [T]	921: 3, 8 920: 9, 12	2
F*.	1,B,[T] or 1,2,B*,[T]	921: 9[w] 920: 5	1
G.	1,2	921: 4, 34, 920: 2, 31	2
H.	a) 1,2,B,[T] + orch. b) 1,B,[T] +orch. c) 1,2,B,[T] +orch.	Rés. 921, 1 is the original of Rés. 921, 16 and Rés. 920, 13 Rés. 921, 6 is the original of Rés. 921, 15 and Rés. 920, 11 Rés. 921, 12 is the original of Rés. 921, 13 and Rés. 921, B	

Notes for Table 2:

u Rés. 920, 15 is for 1,2,T
v Rés. 921, 30 missing B
w Rés. 921, 9 originally for 1,B,[T]; Rés. 920, 5 is for 1,2,B,T

–The *basse* sounds one octave higher than notated.
–Type D pieces include canonic and equal *dessus* parts.
–Type B pieces tend to include alternative notes in the *second dessus,* avoiding second inversions at cadences in the dominant and making the final cadences on the tonic stronger.

TABLE 3

The 180 Unica of Réserve 921 by Category

CATEGORY			TOTAL
A.	1,2,B,[T]	129, 131, 131, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 142, 144, 145, 146, 147, 150[z], 152, 154, 157, 160,162, 164, 166, 171, 172, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184[z], 185, 187, 192, 197, 198, 199l, 203, 206, 209, 211, 214, 215, 217, 222, 224, 227, 229, 231, 234, 235, 236	52 different items
B.	1,2,B,[T] or 1,2*,[T]	130[x], 143, 151, 156, 159, 161, 165, 169, 178, 194, 196, 205, 207, 208, 216, 228	16
(C or). G	(1,2,T or) 1,2	40[y], 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 94, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 012, 013, 015, 016, 017, 108, (109,) 110, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 148, 149, 153, 155, 158, 163, 167, 168, 170, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 186, 188, 189, 190, 191, 193, 200, 201, (202,) 204, 2 10, 212, 213, 218, 219, 220, 221, 223, 225, (226,) 230, 232, 233	102
D.	1,2,3,[T]	58, 93, 95, 104, 111, 112, 195	7
F.	1,B,[T]	141	1
H.	a) 1,2,[T] + orch b) 1,2 (in C and G), bassoon.	47 48	

Notes for Table 3:

x 130 has rests for a [timpani] solo
y 40 is set in F Major
z 150 is the same piece as 184 but is from a different source

–Double-underlined numbers, e.g. 129, etc. are pieces with wide-ranging *basse* parts:
130 (Lalande), 132-34, and 136 (Huguenet), 142 (Anon) use c g c' g'
138-39 (Huguenet) use c g c' e' g'
129 (Lalande) uses g c' e' g' c''
–Single-underlined numbers, e.g. 160, etc., are pieces with non-harmonic pitches.
–Items enclosed in parentheses ( ) in categories C and G may have had [timpani] parts originally

NOTES

1 Don L. Smithers, *The Music and History of the Baroque Trumpet before 1721* (London, 1973), p. 236.
2 Edward H. Tarr, *The Trumpet* (London, 1988), p. 129.
3 This is implied in Detlef Altenburg, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Trompete im Zeitalter der Clarinblaskunst (1500-1800),* 3 vols. (Regensburg, 1973), p. 118.
4 Smithers, *Baroque Trumpet,* pp. 234, 240-41.
5 In *Les Chroniques de Sire Jean Froissart* (1337-1410), ed. A. C. Buchon, 2 vols. (Paris, 1837). The quotation is from 2: 431.
6 In *Harmonicorum instrumentorum,* p. 109, from *Harmonicorum libri* (Paris, 1635), and *Harmonie universelle* (Paris, 1636), *Livre* 5, p. 269, respectively.
7 The C2 clef used in the *second dessus* part is understood to indicate the G2 clef here. The reverse is the case in the cavalry signals also included by Mersenne in the two texts.
8 *Harmonie universelle,* livre, 5, p. 269: "qui fonts des accords avec les gresles ou aigues."
9 Ibid.: "le Bourdon … se fait avec la plus grande Trompette, ou si elles sont toutes de mesme grandeur, avec les gros sons."
10 Ibid., p. 248: "sept pieds de long ou environ."
11 The large trumpet in the collection of the Paris Conservatoire which apparently dates from the time of Henry IV might represent one of these instruments, if it is genuine.
12 In *Trésor de la Lanqve françoise tant Ancienne que Moderne* (Paris, 1606, 1621); facs. ed., Paris, 1960), p. 216: "le clairon anciennement, ainsi qu'en vsent encores les Moresques & les Portugois, qui le tiennent d'eux, seruoit comme d'vn dessus à plusieurs trompettes sonnans en taille ou basscontre, & estoit de tuyau plus estroit que les trompettes." A passage on p. 645 of the same book confirms that "estroit" refers to narrowness of bore size.
13 In *A Dictionnaire of the French and English Tongves* (London, 1611; facs. ed., London, 1971). Trumpets suited to different registers were certainly in use at Stuttgart. See my "More on Mutes," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 3 (1991): 265.
14 In *Tutta l'arte della trombetta* (1614; facs. ed., Kassel and Basel, 1975), fol. 7v: "qui segue un modo di sonare da Alto a Basso come si usaua per il passato."

15 Both sources have been discussed by H.M. Lewis in "French Trumpet Ensembles of the Late Seventeenth Century," *Journal of the International Trumpet Guild* 7/4 (May 1983): 12-17. While there is much agreement between that account and the present study, it has been considered necessary to review the music from base due to a number of important differences on key points that result in rather different conclusions.

16 Rés 971 is preserved in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, and is the rough copy of Versailles Ms 1163, preserved in the Bibliothèque de Versailles. The piece is found in the latter on p. 122. The two versions are not absolutely identical.
The top part only of a different M*arche Royalle* in D, dated 1678 (?), is included in a portrait of André Danican Philidor executed around 1710 (see *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* s.v. "Philidor," by Julian Rushton. This melody concords with that of the C-major *Marche royalle à 3 dessus de hautbois pour la marche françoise. Faite par Philidor l'ainé, faite l'an 1679,* which is found in Versailles Ms 1163, p. 11.

17 "Elle n'est ny consonance, ny difference des consonances." *Harmonie universelle* 3: 251-3. Although Mersenne refers here to the absence of harmonic 7, b♭, from the trumpet range table given there, the reasoning is also applicable to its higher octave, which is also excluded from the range table.

18 Preserved in Versailles, Ms. 1163, on pp. 112, 113, 114-5, and 106-110, respectively.

19 See J.-B. Lully, *Ouevres complètes: Ballets,* 2: 164-66.

20 H. Schneider failed to recognize the origins of Philidor's trumpet airs and mistakenly entered the two arrangements separately as LWV 75/48-9 in *Chronologisch-thematisches Verzeichnis sämtlicher Werke von Jean-Baptiste Lully* (Tutzing, 1981).

21 The presence of the indication *trompettes* in one of the scores consulted is mentioned in the critical commentary to *Ouevres complètes: Comédies-Ballets*, 3: 233. However, the rubric is omitted from the printed music.

22 Ibid., 3: 221-30.

23 It is no coincidence that the trumpet parts, termed *premier dessus* and *second dessus "'pour les trompettes,"* of Suites 1 and 8 in Johann Caspar Fischer's heavily francophilic *Journal du Printems* (Augsburg, 1695) both include non-harmonic passages in the same range. See the edition in *Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst* 10: 13, 18, 20, 77, 78, 80.

24 Preserved in the Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon.

25 The circumstances of its donation to Prin are recounted in a panel placed on fol. 2v. The attribution "Opéra De Monsieur de Lully pour les Trompettes Du Roy" is found in another panel on fol. 10.

26 The copyist mistakenly substituted the orchestral violin parts at the trumpet entries in the *Ballet de Flore* and the resultant confusion led him to abandon the work altogether toward the end. Comparison with an orchestral score of the work from the Philidor atelier (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, code photothèque R 58618) indicates the source of the problem: normally the trumpet stave is placed above the violin stave, but the reverse happens in this case.

27 *Les Amants magnifiques* also contains other parts. These are fortuitous additions, as will be shown later.

28 For example, in the sinfonia to *Marco Attilio Regolo* (1719). See *The Operas of Alessandro Scarlatti*, vol. 2.

29 The changes are made in exactly the same manner as is found in those trumpet ensemble pieces from Rés 920 and Rés 921, in which alternative notes have been included in the *second dessus* to allow the *basse* to be played or omitted.

30 The trombone part is described by two separate rubrics, *taille de trompettes* and *sacqueboutte* in the manuscript. It plays with the full trumpet ensemble and also in passages with the two *dessus* parts alone. Its music has been derived mainly from the lower string parts of the existing orchestral texture (see Ex. 12).